1: Barthold H-4 (no date) 1927
RQ2 Kazak RQ2

101 ḲAZAḲ (T.), robber, disturber of the peace, adventurer; on these and other meanings see W. Radloff, *Versuch einer Wörterbuches der türk. Dialecte*, ii. 364. The existence of the word in Turkish can be first shown in the ninth (xvth) century. During the civil turmoils under the Timūrids the pretenders, in contrast to the actual rulers, were called *ḳazaḳ*: those who would not accept the verdict of fortune but led the life of an adventurer at the head of their men; cf., for example, the mention of the *ḳazaḳ* years (*ḳazaḳlīḳ*) of Sulṭān Ḥusain, afterwards ruler of Khurāsān, in the *Bābur-Nāma*, ed. Beveridge, p. 173 b, infra. The name *ḳazaḳ* is also applied to whole bodies of people, who had separated from their princes and kinsmen; in the *Tārīḵh-i Raṣhīdī* (transl. E. D. Ross, especially p. 82 and 272) the Özbeg, who had abandoned their Khān Abu 'l-Ḵhair (cf. the article), are called Özbeg-Ḳazaḳ or simply Ḳazaḳ; the latter name has been retained by their descendants as an ethnic to the present day (cf. the art. KIRGIZ). In Russia the word *ḳazaḳ* first appears about the same time as in Central Asia (in the second half of the xvth century) and is probably borrowed from Turkish although it appears in Russian in a larger number of meanings; thus individuals without kinsmen or possessions were called *ḳazaḳ* even although they did not lead a wandering or marauding life; the word, therefore, had not yet the exclusively military meaning which it had afterwards. The word Cossack, used in Western Europe, is the result of the Little Russian and Polish pronunciation. No certain etymological explanation of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The last suggestion by N. Marr (*Żurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1915, June, p. 286), according to which the old Caucasian ethnic *Kasog* mentioned in the Russian annals under 6473 = 965 is preserved in Ḳazaḳ, is a hypothesis which can hardly be accepted by the historian. (W. BARTHOLD)

[57]

P. 836 b

631 kinsmen (1) are not brought in, but the people in the same village as
618
178
[672]

1. Note 1 to item 161 of the Draft of a code on the Administration of the Semirechie and Syr-Darya Regions: "If in the commission of a crime, damage is inflicted on state or private property, the guilty person, in addition to his personal penalty by law, is sentenced to compensate for the damage. In case of insolvency of the guilty person, the payment of the damages among the Kazakhs is referred to his kinsmen, on the basis of customs."

the defendant. Then, depending on the size of the fine, either the whole village takes part in the payment of the livestock, or only those 50 or 10 tents to which the defendant belongs; c) the transfer of nomads from one volost to another or from village to village takes place, for the most part, to acquire land rights for agriculture, since at present the nomadic population attaches very great importance to
[672] land use; d) the baranta /form of legal or approved private seizure of
● 579 livestock/ has now ceased to a great extent. Robberies are very few.
[696] After murders it is not necessary to go the place where the blood was shed to receive staisfaction. It is not necessary to revert to force for suits and offenses, since if satisfaction is not received, they can turn to the Russian authority, which will force the people's courts to try the the case and satisfy the plaintiffs. Therefore in all cases of this kind there is no need of seeking protection among kinsmen; e) Now there is no seizure of land by one clan from another, which might cause other clans to unite among themselves for purposes of defense.

631 In spite of all this, an attraction to their clans does exist,
618 although some clans belong to several volosts. This is supported by influential persons, the representatives of their clans, since the clan principle helps to maintain /15/ their importance among the people and helps in collecting a majority of votes in elections. (1) This

1. The persons of the native administration, /namely/ the volost administrators and the village elders, are elected by the people, and the appointment is confirmed by the oblast or uyezd administration.

attraction is stronger in those volosts which are composed almost exclusively of one clan, with villages from one branch. However in the villages kinship in the female line is acquiring great importance.

[188 cont.]

×648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [654] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

×648 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev
439 left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned
579 by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[192 cont.]
their seal on the leaves on which the oath was written in lieu of signature. In imitation of them, 128 Kazak elders of the Middle Horde swore the oath in a neighboring tent, and the people took the oath outdoors. This ceremony was followed by a feast, the firing of artillery, etc.

On the following day the Khan, accompanied by Ablai, returned to Orenburg to discuss Kazak matters. During this meeting Prince Urusov particularly insisted that they should escort the caravans coming from Russia or returning there, that they should surrender the goods seized by the Great Horde from Muller's caravan, and that they should put an end to the disagreements existing between the Kazaks and the Volga Kalmuks. They were unable to satisfy this last request because they belonged to a people which was more accustomed to pillage than to obeying its chiefs. Furthermore, the Kalmuks had suffered more from the Little Horde, which was their closest neighbor. We will add, by way of proof, that in this same year, 1740, Abulkhair himself sent nearly 3,000 Kazaks to ravage the Kalmuk uluses.

It was impossible to satisfy the demand for escorts for the caravans. Ablai, who was more powerful than Abul Mahmet, could have assumed this obligation, but it was not to the advantage of the people or the chiefs, since no matter how high a price the escort received, it could not counterbalance the benefits accruing to the Kazaks from seizing the goods.

Two days after the first meeting with the chiefs of the Middle Horde, Prince Urusov invited them, together with the sons of Abulkhair, to come to see the maneuvers of the infantry and artillery. Abul Mahmet and Ablai admired the exercises [193] and especially the fireworks which were displayed in their honor. But in order to avoid meeting Abul Mahmet, Nurali and Erali not only failed to appear in response to the invitation which they had received, but left Orenburg the same day without taking leave of Prince Urusov. It was later learned that the real reason for this hasty departure was the fear of being kept as hostages in Russia at the instigation of Abul Mahmet.

The Khan and the sultans left Orenburg giving every sign of submission and devotion to the Russian government. But the events

[200 cont.]

×648 662 No matter how insincere the Kazaks' protestations of obedience were and how vain their promises to return the prisoners, protect the caravans, etc., at least from the moment they had declared themselves vassals until the year 1743, neither they nor their subjects had dared to make raids openly on the Russian borders or against their fortresses. But in the course of this year, they gave evidence of extraordinary daring, secretly incited by the same Abulkhair, who never ceased to assure the Russian government of his good faith and of his carrying out of all the duties of a faithful subject. Having been met with a formal refusal to accept his illegitimate son Chingis in place of his son Khodja Akhmet, he was [152] so angry that he began to incite the Kazaks to attack the border villages. One can imagine that his subjects were not slow to profit by counsel which was both advantageous to them and in accord [579] with their customs. At once pillaging, murder, and the carrying off of men and beasts began. Groups made up of from 1,000 to 2,000 bandits threw themselves upon sparsely settled villages, which had only just been founded, and carried away across the Ural River everything which could not escape them or which they could not destroy. Even the fortresses and fortified posts were exposed to their attacks. In one day, [201] 82 men were carried off from the small town of Iletsk. We will not enumerate the other robberies and violences which were committed (1), but limit

1. See the reports of Nepluev to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ourselves only to saying that the leader of these furious bands was Derbeshali, a sultan and kinsman of Abulkhair, and that his aim was to go to the fortress of Sarachinsk where Khodja Akhmet was and carry him off, after he grew tired of brigandage. Russian troops prevented him from carrying this plan out, but being busy building forts, they could not stop the other raids. Part of their horses were worn out by labor and part ran away into the country, and this made them a prey to plunderers.

[210 cont.]
[648] [662] dispatched several trusted Kazaks to propose the marriage of his daughter to the Dzungarian sovereign.

[682] As the Russian government, which was still unaware of this last step taken by Abulkhair, awaited the execution of his promises, it was informed that he had been assassinated.

These are the circumstances which preceded his death.

[726] When he returned from the fortress of Orsk to the auls, he assembled a band of armed Kazaks and moved at their head to pillage the unfortunate Karakalpaks, who had already suffered so much from him and his son. He met Sultan Barak, who had long hated him and who envied him the marks of distinction and the prerogatives which had been granted him by the Russian government. He held a grudge against Abulkhair particularly because
● [679] [643] the latter had pillaged the gifts he had been sent by the khan of Khiva. In addition, both claimed rights of sovereignty over the Karakalpaks who had established themselves in the Kazak horde. Both were violent and vindictive, and consequently their meeting could not take place without a quarrel.

Barak, who had more people with him, was the first to open combat. Abulkhair's band, which was less numerous, could not withstand the first encounter and took to flight, and the Khan, who was carried away by the fugitives, was obliged to follow their example. But Shigai [211] the sultan, son of Barak, overtook him and unhorsed him with a blow of his spear. Then Barak himself arrived and assuaged his bloody rage by killing his enemy with his own hands (1).

1. We have drawn this information from Tevkelev's journals, which are preserved in Orenburg in the archives of the Border Commission.

[726] Although the Karakalpaks had suffered much from Abulkhair, his death only brought them a new blow instead of bringing them relief. For Barak, delivered from his rival, did not miss the chance to attack them and pillage them.

[225 cont.]

x648 In 1753 the angry Nurali directed that the first caravan
●[579 from Khiva which went to Russia or returned from there was to be
439] pillaged. His orders were carried out. At once Kazaks of the Alimul descent line of the Karakitin tribe pillaged many Khivan and Turkomen merchants on the Sagiz, who were coming with goods under the escort of Kazaks of the same Alimul descent line but of the Chiklin tribe. Nepluev sent a civil official to the horde expressly to persuade the Khan to call the bandits to account,
[662 deprive them of the goods, and return them to their owners.
681] Nurali replied decisively that the pillage had taken place by his order because Sultan Batyr, not content with disobeying him, was also seeking to arouse the Middle Horde against him, and that Batyr in agreement with his son was requiring the Khiva caravans to travel only by way of his own auls. Moreover, in order to justify himself and with the aim of arousing Russia against Khiva, he wrote to Orenburg that Kaip and Barak (or Batyr) were preparing to attack the Russian border, and in that case he advised that the land of Khiva be conquered and promised to take it in a few days if he were sent the assistance of 10,000 Russian troops with artillery.

[579 His goal in proposing his services was easy to guess, and
577] thus Nepluev and Tevkelev did not listen to his insinuations but repeated the demand for the return of the stolen merchandise of the robbed caravan and reproached him for conduct unbecoming to a khan. Their entreaties would have been useless if the interpreter charged with delivering them had not caused Nurali to hope, on instruction from Nepluev, that if he gave satisfaction to the [226] merchants he would gain the right to request the stipend from the government which had been assigned to him but had not been given all this time. This produced a greater effect than all the advice, and he busied himself at once with making his subjects give up the goods.

[661] Kaip, the khan of Khiva, acted quite differently. While the Russian government was causing the restitution to his subjects of what they had lost, this khan had a Russian caravan halted in Khiva, and in spite of the demands of the Orenburg authorities,

[239 cont.]
[648] died, he was obliged to send another at once to take his place,
[661] but he delayed and thought of weak excuses, and finally the local
[343] authority received an order not to force him. It was also ordered that sheds and enclosures be built near the Ural River for him and his brothers, at the expense of the crown, for the wintering of their animals. Finally the Khan and the most distinguished sultans received many gifts at this time.

[728] In order to calm all the Kazaks in the north and to protect them from attacks which could have stopped them even during their preparations to march against the Chinese, the strictest prohibitions were repeated to prevent the Bashkirs from crossing the Ural River.

[343] Certain difficulties which arose in building the livestock enclosures for the Khan and the sultans, their constant requests that they be allowed to spend the winter in the steppes of Astrakhan, and the fear that this concession might bring about the destruction of the Volga Kalmuks, led the government to return, in 1759, to the idea of building a city at the mouth of the Emba. It was thought that even if the Khan and the Kazaks could not be persuaded to live there permanently, at least they would not refuse to spend the winter there in order to care for their studs and livestock. However this plan has remained [240] unrealized to this day, like the one of which we spoke above.

After Amursan's death and the cessation of the unpleasant relations which had taken place concerning him between the Russian and Chinese governments, Russia's preparations to repel an attack by the latter, as well as the aid promised by Khan Nurali and Sultan Ablai, became unnecessary. Nevertheless the Russian court continued to fear for a long time that the Kazaks might
[167] withdraw across the borders into the ravaged lands of Dzungaria. Because of Ablai's ties with China and the efforts of the Chinese to draw him into their vicinity, the Middle Horde even seemed disposed to change its place of habitation. It was supposed that if it withdrew eastward, the Little Horde would also follow its example.

[571] Such an emigration could not harm Russia with regard to her security, for the Kazaks, after becoming her subjects, had

[242 cont.]

[648] These moods were constantly increasing the audacity of the Little Horde, and the Khan pleaded as an answer the weakness [579 685] of his power. In this situation an order was sent from St. Petersburg (1) to require the Kalmuks to return the horses they had stolen

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of July 13, 1760.

and to punish the raids of the Kazaks by sending troops into their lands to find the offenders and to seize their possessions, or at least to arrest their kinsmen. But this was to be done without touching, under any circumstances, those who were strangers to them.

[721] In 1761 part of the Little Horde attacked the Russian borders again and was again punished by force of arms. The reason for its attacks was the same as that for the year before. The Kalmuks had not returned the stolen horses, and the courtesies which were owed them had not been shown to the Khan and his brothers in Orenburg, although at the beginning of the year they had not taken part in the raids. In the autumn the Sultans Erali and Aichuvak were [579] in such a state of outrage at the behavior toward them [243] that they began to halt the caravans which were returning to Orenburg. Aichuvak even had the intention of withdrawing with the [167] Semirod descent line toward the Chinese border into the lands which had belonged to the Dzungars. In order to keep these two [661] sultans as well disposed toward Russia as they had been earlier, the higher authorities granted annual stipends to each of them in spite of the conduct of the local authorities in Orenburg.

[648] Because of this state of affairs in the Little Horde and the ambiguous position held by Sultan Ablai, which nevertheless was not harmful to Russia, when Emperor Peter III was elevated to the throne, the Khan and the principal Kazak sultans were sent [662] letters with this information without demanding a new oath from them. It was believed that they would have refused, and it was decided not to carry out this formality until they should be in Orenburg themselves. In order to keep them in a state of

[246 cont.]
This same year 200 tents of Turkmen, who had been living with the Kalmuks for a long time, fled beyond the Yaik /Ural River/, and after the Kazaks had allowed to enter their territories they enslaved the fugitives and divided them among themselves.

During the first years of the reign of Catherine, Russia's relations with the Kazaks were directed more than ever toward the two ends which she had in view: the first, to establish settlements in the two hordes; the second, to insure the inviolability of the caravans.

For the first point, it was wished to revive the plan to build a strong city at the mouth of the Emba and to build a house there for Khan Nurali. But since his subjects feared to see the Russians in the middle of their steppes it was ordered to build a camp in the form of a redoubt instead of a fortress, to shelter the fishermen who came into this region. And in order to keep this establishment from even scaring the nomads, it was ordered that a market be opened where they could provide themselves with wheat from the crown at the lowest price. It was also wished to teach them to [247] mow hay and to build sheds for their animals and dwellings for themselves if they asked for it. Likewise orders were repeated to the border authorities to build sheds for the animals and houses for those Kazaks who wished it on the Irtysh River and beyond the Ural. Taking advantage of the consent of a small number of Kazaks, the Siberian authorities, who had the advantage of living in good relations with certain Kazaks, were ordered to build an entire village on the small Kolchakly River and to obtain for it every imaginable advantage. In a word, the government tried every possible means to imbue its nomadic subjects with a taste for sedentary life. But they always had, and still have today, an invincible aversion to it, either as a result of their nomadic life or for fear of losing their savage liberty, which they value above every kind of possession.

For the second goal, the security of trade, it was necessary to seek new means, for 30 years of experience had proven that neither the khans nor the sultans could offer the caravans a sure and inviolable protection over the entire extent of their territories.

[247 cont.]

×648 The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still [439 almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and 579] even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and [316] on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

[439] Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. [712] At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. [439] Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

[342 177] At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. [661] Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[262 cont.]
sent a [263] high officer to the horde, who joined the family of the deceased and celebrated a ceremonial funeral service in its presence.

Thus ended Ablai's relations with Russia. Although the disobedience of this prince in the last years of his life was open, yet it had no important consequences. The Little Horde, whose khan seemed entirely devoted to Russia and proved this by his actions, was much more disturbing to the borders, as it continued its raids and brigandage as usual. As we saw earlier, in 1775 the Empress had forbidden the sending of troops beyond the Ural to chastise the Kazaks, and although not only the Orenburg authorities but the Khan himself had asked that this measure be employed again in 1776, it was not done. The supreme government had made up its mind to substitute gentle means for severity. This system, which was so favorable to the Kazaks, did not last long. Their plundering forced it to be changed. Nurali himself again declared the absolute urgency of punishing the guilty persons. As a result, on October 4, 1779, the Empress gave orders to the governor of Orenburg, by a rescript, not only to pursue the bandits with armed force, but, as before, to seize their kinsmen if necessary, or even their neighbors, so that the families of these neighbors would make an effort to deliver the guilty persons or at least to force the return of the Russians who had been held prisoner.

According to tradition, the southern part of the Middle Horde underwent a terrible defeat from the Great Horde after Ablai's death, being attacked and having many animals taken away. Those who had suffered did not remain quiet but avenged themselves upon their enemies. The northern part of the Middle Horde took no part in these reprisals. This horde chose as the successor to Ablai his son Vali, and the latter esteemed the protection of Russia and did not wish to be at odds with her. As a result he asked her to [264] confirm his new position. His request was fulfilled, and in 1782 he was proclaimed the khan of the Middle Horde by Lieutenant General Jacob in the fort of Petropavlovsk. The ceremonies observed on this occasion were the same as those which the Russian government observes at every installation of a khan. We have already spoken of them.

[274 cont.]
course of these two years fewer prisoners were taken on the border than in the 13 years from 1782 to 1794 (2). Likewise,

2. As proof, we include here the following table for these 13 years. Along the line which extends from the fort of Zverinogolovsk to Guryev, the Kazaks took 34 prisoners in 1782.

21	"	" 1783
176	"	" 1784
175	"	" 1785
12	"	" 1786
2	"	" 1787
43	"	" 1788
53	"	" 1789
90	"	" 1790
34	"	" 1791
40	"	" 1792
60	"	" 1793
42	"	" 1794

in 1786 his subjects released quite a large number of Russians from slavery, up to the time Nurali was banished from the horde after Ufa had been fixed as his place of exile and the detention of his brother Aichuvak at Uralsk. That same year 45,000 tents spent the winter inside the Russian borders and crossed the Ural River again in the spring without permitting the slightest infraction of the peace.

The first effects of the new system of administration of the Little Horde could not fail to be pleasing [275] both to the Empress, who ardently desired to establish order among the Kazaks, and to the supreme commander of the border, who was approaching the goal indicated to him by the advice of his sovereign and who saw the possibility of pleasing her by insuring the prosperity of an entire people. Occupied with these thoughts,

[276 cont.]
he was no less quick to profit from it, as he was soon presented with an opportunity to do.

Syrym's followers, as much to please him as to satisfy their own greediness, did not stop with committing offenses against Nurali in all sorts of ways, but ended by attacking villages and pillaging everything they found there. Nurali, defenseless, turned to the power of Russia and requested an armed guard from the border authorities. When he was refused, he decided to withdraw to Orenburg for a time in order to save his life, and from this city he was taken to Ufa, where he died four years later. His brother Aichuvak was detained during this time in Uralsk.

It is useless to describe the impression which these events gave to Nurali's children and the other descendants of Abulkhair. The eldest and the best known, because of his intelligence and valor, was Sultan Erali, who had had frequent relations with Russia, as we have seen. But six years before he had conquered the Karakalpaks and lived with them on the Syr [Darya] (2). He

2. Bekehurin, an interpreter of Orenburg, traveled on the Syr in 1781, and found Sultan Erali was already sovereign of the Karakalpaks.

knew perfectly well who was mainly responsible for the misfortunes of his brothers and who had caused them to lose the protection of Russia, which Abulkhair and his line had had for more than half a century. Anxious to avenge the grievances of his family, he resolved to attack Syrym and marched against him with an army which was few in number but could be counted upon. Luck smiled upon Sultan Erali on this expedition. He captured the representative of the national assembly, the title which Syrym gave himself.

At this same time other tribes of the Little Horde, who were not attached to Abulkhair's family but also did not wish to follow the incitements of Syrym or of his principal accomplices and who were accustomed, furthermore, to having khans,

[277] elevated Kaip, a man of whom we have already spoken, to this position several times. A third part of the horde did not wish to recognize Kaip; but it asserted, as his subjects, that the Kazaks should have a khan, that their ancestors had found it necessary, and that they did not wish to set aside a custom which was hallowed by time. For this reason, they demanded either the return of Nurali or another khan in his place. During all this time, Syrym was Erali's prisoner.

The situation weakened the conviction of the Orenburg head, and Baron Igelstrom, being afraid of allowing the Kazaks to indulge themselves in new disputes, requested the confirmation of Kaip as khan of the entire Little Horde. The Empress was of an entirely different opinion. Having once decided to introduce a form of government in the steppes beyond the Ural River which was in harmony with that of the interior provinces, she did not wish to change her plan unless absolutely necessary, and she replied, with her usual firmness, with an explicit refusal to Baron Igelstrom on November 12, 1786.

Without entering into the good or the evil which could be produced by the authority of a khan among the Kazaks, we will only say that after all the proclamations made to the Little Horde in 1785 and 1786, Nurali's exile in Russia, and many other measures taken in order to introduce a new form of government among the Kazaks, Catherine could not give up a plan which had scarcely been tried without injury to her dignity. Consequently her reply was much more in accord with the dignity of the empire than was the proposal of the governor of Orenburg.

Besides, even if the Empress had consented to the restoration of the position of khan, she would not have preferred Kaip to the other sultans who had far more rights than he. Several circumstances were opposed to the accomplishment of his ambitious ideas. First, a report was even made to Orenburg of the fact that while he was living on the Syr [Darya] after his expulsion from Khiva, [278] he had often pillaged caravans and had expressed an open hatred for Russia (1). Second, there was another obstacle in the

1. See Baron Igelstrom's reports of September 23 and October 15, 1786.

[290 cont.]
for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon became useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader. The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences. Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[312 cont.]
have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place, for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
[636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311] establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177] in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
[311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181] present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579] the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
[222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372] provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

[315 cont.]

181 often as its own expense, and has used
152 every means of persuasion to induce
[636 certain individuals among them to settle
342] down, at least to provide an example.
But all these efforts have been futile.

[579 their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical rela-
627] tions of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by
628 one individual against another, the participation of their families
578] in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes,
and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes re-
[166] quire hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling
places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to
evade the persecutions of their enemies.

721 It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

101 In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742:
166 "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always
578 had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the
361 Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads
181 us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and
636 the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form
177 permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as